

The Reds in the United States

SOVIET PUTS AMERICAN COMMUNIST FORCES IN STATE OF VASSALAGE

Document Seized in Michigan Raid and Written at Moscow Outlined Strategy—Tribute and Support in Every Way Demanded—Fomentation of Class Hatreds—Mass Action Emphasized—Revolution, Not Reform.

FIFTH ARTICLE.

Special Dispatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD.

New York Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., Dec. 7.

THE raid on the Communists in Michigan a few months ago produced plentiful results in the way of prisoners and documents. The prisoners, headed by William Z. Foster, are scheduled to go to trial in the courts of Michigan next month.

But the most striking result of that raid was a document. Federal authorities consider it of importance. It is the most illuminating exposition of the doctrines of the Communists that has yet been brought out into the open light of day.

THE NEW YORK HERALD herewith presents this remarkable document. It bears the heading:

"NEXT TASK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN AMERICA."

This document sets forth very fully the plans, purposes and methods of the Communists. It was written at Moscow and was brought to America to serve as a compass for the Communist effort being made in this country. Its text in part follows:

"In the earlier stages the Communist movement usually lacks the broad, directing viewpoint from which can be found the guideposts for its various steps. Inexperienced Communists, for example, attack imperialism only in general, in its universal aspect, without exact information and minute attention to the unique manifestations of imperialism within the given country. They do not in any way direct their attacks for the purpose of playing up against each other the antagonistic interests of various imperialistic groups.

Also, the representatives of false tendencies in the labor movement they attack in general terms, with indiscriminate battle cries having, perhaps, the desired application to some, but having in regard to others perhaps the exact opposite of the desired result. In a word, they strike around with their eyes closed against all opponents of their own narrow Communist groups. They fight as a little sect fights, against the entire outer world. Such primitive methods of battle, even when combined with the greatest zeal and heroism, are not dangerous to the enemies of Communism.

Effective Procedure.

The Communists begin to be effective in the political struggle only when they adopt concrete, strategic aims for their movement, based upon a thorough examination of the facts. With a determined, purposeful drive to these aims, with the subjection of every phase of our movement to this principle,

our movement begins to be effective. "In order to assist the American comrades in working out and formulating their line of action, the executive committee of the Communist International proposes for their examination the following points:

"1. As the greatest force opposing the proletarian world revolution appears at the present moment to be the counter-revolutionary world alliance of American, English, French and Japanese capitalism, it is of vital interest to the proletarian revolutionary movement to work against the establishment and consolidation of this alliance, to attack its advocates most ruthlessly, to tear its tap-root, if possible, to disturb its growth unceasingly, and adroitly to make use of the conflicting interests within it.

"2. The narrow nationalism of the American, Japanophobes and Anglophobes is not liberal or humanitarian nor friendly to labor, and is not in the slightest degree more acceptable to us than was the attempted bourgeois internationalism of the League of Nations, and yet, to the extent of its own cupidity, it really hinders and disturbs the process of uniting the counter-revolutionary forces in the capitalist world. To the extent that this narrow nationalism (Japanophobia and Anglophobia) attacks and tends to smash the outside world robbers (and also, let us hope, to smash itself)—to this extent it is doing the historic work of

self-destruction of the capitalist world system; and in this work it must not be hindered by us. Therefore, though we will not, in the role of social-patriots, help the chauvinists in their predatory ventures, we WILL make use of chauvinistic blindness on behalf of the proletarian revolution.

"3. Soviet Russia, as the main-spring of the international revolutionary movement of the proletariat, must be supported in every way. It must be supported with economic help through the self-sacrifice of the workers of all countries. And, most of all, it must be helped through the class struggle of the workers in all capitalist countries against their own bourgeoisie. The fiercer the class struggle of the American proletariat, the less will be the pressure of the international counter-revolution upon Soviet Russia. In this respect the Communists must learn how to make use of the conflicting interests of the various factions of the bourgeoisie, how to turn the greed of the bourgeoisie for profits and how to exploit the various tendencies growing out of greedy speculation, to the advantage of the Russian revolution, and thus to the advantage of the proletarian world revolution.

Mass Action of Workers.

"4. The prerequisite of victory for the working class is that the working class unite itself for the class struggle. To bring about this unification isolated alone participated in solely by Communists will not suffice. It is necessary to bring about common 'MASS ACTION' of workers who are not yet Communists. For this purpose the Communists must penetrate the working masses to the utmost, must live and work together with them, must live and fight with them and lead them forward in both major and minor battles. The uniting of the workers in general class struggle organizations, and the joining of the various ones of these organizations into close relationships—this and not merely to attain Communist purity and perfection of program—is the task now facing the Communist party of America. The consciousness of the working masses is naturally very unclear at this time, half bourgeois, and undeveloped from the standpoint of the revolutionary vanguard. But, generally speaking, it will develop more clearly only during the process of the struggle itself, through the common struggle against the bourgeoisie and through experience in the general class struggle organizations.

Ku Klux Capitalistic.

"5. As a matter of course not all organizations to which workers belong can be used as instruments of the proletarian class struggle, just as not every action of the workers can further the struggle. But the question of the possibilities of given organizations must be examined and judged on its own merits in each case. It is unthinkable, for instance, that a colossal trade union organization such as the American Federation of Labor could be composed entirely of enemies of the working class, as are such capitalist organizations as the Ku Klux Klan or the various professional strike breaking bodies. Here a distinction must always be made between the reactionary traitorous leadership and the unconsciously petty bourgeois minded mass which we have to win.

"And just so one must not consider any mass movement of the unemployed, no matter how primitive, false

and unclear, as being hopelessly and permanently under bourgeois influence. The general elections, in which hundreds of thousands of workers take part, cannot be rejected as being merely a peaceful movement with which the Communists will have nothing to do. Further, certain mass organizations which not only are not Communist but are not proletarian in composition, must be utilized by Communist strategy for the benefit of the proletarian class struggle.

"6. As, for instance, the existing mass movements of small farmers (who are, in a sense, semi-proletarian), and even movements of middle class farmers under some circumstances. Another instance is the negro mass movement for racial betterment, which movement often attempts deliberately to avoid proletarian class character but must include great masses of toilers. Communist strategy must utilize these movements as auxiliary forces or, at least, must win them to benevolent neutrality in the class war.

Revolutionizing Process.

"7. In the present period of the dissolution of the capitalist system, the most important tasks of the Communists of all capitalist countries is the revolutionizing of the proletarian class struggle. The fighting proletarian is to be led from one stage to another in the revolutionizing process by means of suitable slogans. They must help the proletariat to free itself from the illusions and false traditions that limit its vision and fetter its activities and to counteract the fossilizing influence of the trade union bureaucracy. One must organize the proletariat for the historic training school, in which it will learn to become the conqueror of capitalism.

"8. Only the Communist party can do this. The organization and training of the Communist party as leader of the revolutionary movement is, therefore, the fundamental task of the Communists.

"9. The Communists must now take the lead in the struggle against the reduction of wages. This struggle in its various forms is especially adapted for uniting the largest masses of workers in one organization for the common struggle. The conservative labor leaders will find themselves placed in a most difficult position through this struggle, where they will soon be forced to plainly unmask their cowardly wobbling and their treacherous role, and where they will bring upon themselves the wrath of the struggling workers. In America almost nothing has been done so far in this direction, but it must be done thoroughly before one can even think of the victory of the working class in the revolutionary struggle.

Types of Demands Suggested.

"10. The organization of the unemployed is an equally important and difficult task. In this movement, just as much as in all other minor battles, the Communists must select their slogans according to the circumstances and intensify them as much as possible from the immediate needs of the day to the general workers' control of capitalist industry. Right now they must make a special demand for State support of the unemployed out of the military budget.

"11. The Communist Party Must Remember That It Is Not Its Purpose To Reform The Capitalist State! The purpose of the Communists is, on the contrary, to Cure The Working Masses of Their Reformistic Illusions

Through Bitter Experience. Demands upon the State for immediate concessions to the workers must be made not after the fashion of the Social-Democratic parties, which try to make those demands within the limits in which the State can grant them while retaining its strength intact.

"12. Communist demands for immediate concessions to the workers are formulated not to be 'reasonable' from the point of view of capitalism, but to be reasonable from the point of view of the struggling workers, regardless of the State's power to grant them without weakening itself. Thus, for instance, a demand for payment out of the Government treasury of full, union standard wages for millions of unemployed workers is highly reasonable from the point of view of the unemployed workers, but damaging from the point of view of the Capitalist State and the capitalist wage competition which the State defends.

"13. The Communists must participate as revolutionists in all general election campaigns, municipal, State and Congressional as well as Presidential. Not in the same manner as the social traitors and centrists, not in order to avoid violent revolution and substitute a revolutionary activity for revolution, but, on the other hand, in order to use even the election campaigns to revolutionize the workers and lead them forward, to sharpen their class consciousness and to bring them together and unite them under Communist leadership.

Concealment and Action.

"14. Class conscious, courageous and wise Communists, as elected representatives of the worker, can always find the possibility in the various institutions of the bourgeois State, in one way or another, to give effective object, lessons to revolutionize the working class. Besides, the Communist party can conceal its underground apparatus and develop it very effectively within the outer framework of the legal campaign organization and the election activities.

"15. The legal party press is, under all circumstances, a most important weapon to the Communist party. Just

as the political movement of the workers in America has remained very backward in regard to matters of organization, so the revolutionary labor press is also as yet very weak. Its development is at the present moment the most urgent task of the party. As long as the party does not possess at least one or two legal dailies in the English language it is still crawling around on all fours. The party must do everything in its power in order to secure decided influence and direct or indirect control over as many existing papers of various labor organizations as possible. Especially it must try to win control over the labor union press. In addition the party must publish an illegal official organ.

Aiming to Fool the Police.

"16. Under existing circumstances it is impossible for the Communist party in the United States to be a legal party. Of course the party can develop open labor organizations. It can even build a legal revolutionary workers' organization, whose membership consists entirely of Communists, must not be liquidated. On the contrary, it must be built even firmer and stronger. It must guide and control the legal revolutionary party through its members. Every Communist, that is, every member of the 'underground party,' must submit to an iron discipline, and must act in accordance with the directions of the leading organs of the underground party in all legal as well as illegal activities.

"All Must Agree to These Rules."

"17. As a matter of course, all real Communists in the United States will subscribe to this. The Executive of the Communist International knows that the minority of the party executive does not deny the advisability of taking advantage of legal opportunities,

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although this minority opposes the rapid and energetic procedure of the majority in founding the legal revolutionary party. This distinction is, in the judgment of the executive committee of the comintern, without good ground.

"The fact that the party executive is proceeding rapidly and energetically with the formation of the legal party organization is not a fault. It would have been a fault to wait with the launching of the legal party until the underground organization had developed sufficient strength.

"Dear comrades, we hope that, in your coming party convention, all of you will give evidence, in your resolu-

tions and actions, of firm, organic unity and that your party will prove its ability to measure up to the great responsibilities that stand before it.

"With Communist greetings.
"Executive committee of the Communist International.

"N. BUKHARIN,
"K. RADEK,
"O. W. KURISIN,
"Secretary."

THE NEW YORK HERALD will publish to-morrow the orders of the Russian Soviet for the Communist leaders in this country to bore into the Army and Navy and the Marine Corps of the United States and destroy the morale of the fighting forces.

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